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those you have established in your own United States. They should be alike, but not similar. There should be a law-making body, not necessarily a parliament or congress, but a body with legislative powers. There should be a law-applying body. In that direction more is already done: we have already a Court of Arbitration, and in principle the states agreed to create a Supreme Court of the World or Court of International Justice, which it is proposed to complete by a Council of Conciliation; these three bodies would form the judiciary part of the administration of the world. Finally there should be not a proper executive, but an administrative body, in charge of the general interests of the world; a vast compound of the already existing offices and unions as the Postal Union, the Railroad Union, the Telegraphic Union. The work done and the work to be done in behalf of mankind should be systematized so that international coöperation in the world should become a part of the life of every day in every nation, changing the mind of all peoples by bringing them in constant touch one with another and showing that their own interests harmonize with the interests of humanity.

DISARMAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL COURTS PRE-REQUISITES TO A DURABLE PEACE

BY JAMES L. SLAYDEN,

Member of Congress from Texas.

Four, five, or possibly six years ago I read a great speech by the member of the House of Commons for the division of Carnarvon, Wales. It was an eloquent plea for arbitration and the settlement of international disputes by the method of courts, and a specially strong and convincing argument for an agreed reduction of national armaments. That great democrat and advocate of peace is now the Premier of the British Empire. His wonderful speech in London recently shows that he holds the same views still. I shall refer to them later.

I am not one of that class of pacifists which believes it possible to prevent war entirely, at least not just yet, and refuses to discuss it except from the point of view of its absolute and immediate ending. But I do believe that it is possible, by arrangements between

governments that now thoroughly appreciate the cost of wars and are beginning to understand their stupidity and futility, to make them comparatively harmless.

PULL THE FANGS

Out in the Southwest I once knew a man who called himself a snake merchant. His chief article of trade was that dangerous and repulsive reptile, the rattlesnake. He would handle his merchandise in a way that made the onlooker shiver but he knew, what they did not, that he had made the snakes harmless by pulling their fangs. Now, that is precisely what I would like to do to aggressive and belligerent governments that covet the lands and sovereignties of other nations. I would pull their fangs by taking away from them nearly all the military forces that foolish and confiding people have put at the command of kings. Ambitious monarchs can be made comparatively harmless by reducing the size of armies so much that they will cease to be anything more than a police force. Then they will serve a useful purpose at home and cease to be a menace abroad.

One soldier to each thousand people in any country is enough to keep internal peace in a just government, and if governments are not just the sooner they are overturned the better. But if one soldier to each thousand isn't enough two surely will be, and international agreement should prevent any government from going beyond that.

HOW IT WOULD HAVE FARED WITH BELGIUM

Suppose the federated German Empire had only controlled an army of 75,000 men in 1914 or, taking the larger figure I have suggested, 150,000, would there have been an invasion of Belgium, whose chief offense was that she lay on the highway between Berlin and Paris? Would Liege, Louvain, Dinant, Ypres and Rheims now be in ruins and their priceless treasures of books, pictures and architecture forever lost to the world? Armies of the size I suggest could not have done all that mischief, yet they would be large enough to keep the criminal classes under control while utterly unable to thwart democracy's right to break the shackles of oppression which is always imposed from above by the aid of the autocrat's military arm.

Thomas Jefferson, who lived in a less democratic era than ours, believed, and declared his belief, that revolutions were necessary once in a generation if the people were not to lose their blood-bought liberties. We may not think them necessary as often as Jefferson suggested but we will all agree, I assume, that the opportunity to assert the right to liberty and independence should not be denied by a huge army at the command of an autocrat. The way to peace, to a just and durable peace, is through democracy, and it is absolutely necessary to peace and democracy that the preponderance of power should never be taken from the people and given to the soldier. My faith in the people and in their supremacy in the domain of government has been greatly strengthened by recent events in Russia.

GRATITUDE TO NICHOLAS, THE CZAR

Russia and the world may well spare Nicholas Romanoff from the field of political activity, but justice to his memory compels the admission that during his reign he did one thing for which he is entitled to the gratitude of the whole world, which we now know may be drawn into disaster by the machinations of a few men.

Whether the inspiration of an aroused conscience or the difficulty of financing military projects caused it we may never know, but the great, epochal fact remains that governments began the serious consideration of reducing armaments on his motion. It is one of three or four good and statesmanlike deeds of an otherwise commonplace and inglorious reign. The historian of the future may in charity emphasize this great reform that Nicholas proposed and give only passing attention to pogroms, Siberian exiles and other things that damn the political administration of Russia. If I may be permitted indulgence in slang I will say that when Nicholas, the last of the autocrats of the House of Romanoff, called the first Hague Conference to disarm the nations in the interest of peace he "started something."

WILL GOVERNMENTS CONSENT?

Can we ever get the consent of governments to a general disarmament? I believe so, and I furthermore believe that never in the history of the world has there been such an opportunity for this greatest of all reforms as we will see at the close of the war in Europe.

The cost of modern war will plead for it and will finally compel it. Great Britain is now spending ten million dollars more each day in the prosecution of war than the army of the United States cost in any one of the twenty-four years from 1875 down to and including 1899.

The belligerent powers of Europe are spending more money each day than the average annual cost of the whole government of the United States between 1800 and 1861.

In 1865 the total cost of our government, outside the Post Office Department, was \$1,295,099,290, and the cost per capita in that most expensive year of the Civil War was \$37.27.

Last year when we were at peace with everybody but Pancho Villa, and, perhaps, on occasions with Carranza, our taxes per capita were nearly fifteen dollars.

Contrast that with the \$4.43 per head paid during Cleveland's administration for all expenses outside the Post Office Department and contrast it with the \$85.00 per head you will have to pay for the next year and charge the increased cost to war and excessive preparation for war.

We in America may stand such burdens a few years more but Europe cannot. All these vast sums, both in Europe and America, must come out of the sweat and toil of the man who works. But even that long-suffering class is beginning to think and assert its rights; even the patient, long-suffering Mujik has revolted at last.

A little while ago, an officer of the United States Navy of high rank, a frank and capable man, who was testifying before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, said that if the policy of competition in armaments continued it could only have one of two endings, bankruptcy or war.

Mr. Hensley, of Missouri, on another occasion asked Captain McKean of the Navy what would be the consequence if two individuals "became apprehensive of each other and began to arm themselves," to which the naval officer replied that it would lead "to the hospital or the cemetery."

Hensley then asked him if the same thing would not happen to nations under like circumstances. Captain McKean replied that society would compel disarmament in the case of individuals and that the society of nations might do the same thing as to particular nations under such circumstances.

Another naval officer of high rank said that it was the policy of our government to be either the first or second naval power in the world. I think he really meant that that was the policy our naval officers wanted. When reminded of the fact that other nations might object to our being the first or second naval power of the world his reply was "we have the power and the money to protect ourselves and I think we could do it."

What, let me ask you, will become of the rights of small nations under such a policy? Is it not a return to the rule of the tooth and claw and can there be any just peace under such conditions, any hope for the small country, however just and peaceful, which hasn't the money and power?

REPUDIATION A POSSIBILITY

Already there is talk of repudiation in Europe, but not, of course, by officials of the contending powers for they are still trying to borrow, but by students of the world-wide madness who realize that there is a limit to the burdens that men can bear. That outcome would be hard on those who have put their earnings into the notes of Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and the United Kingdom, but in the long run it might not be bad for the mass of men. If *excessive* armaments and war credits should both be abolished it will lead to a long period of peace. Some people believe that it is this threat of repudiation hanging over them that has caused the owners of such securities to demand that the taxpayers of the United States shall underwrite the war loans of belligerent Europe.

BIG ARMIES DO NOT INSURE PEACE

The theory that huge military preparation assures peace exploded in 1914. At that time Russia, Germany and Austria had the greatest armies in the world and they were the first countries to enter the war. I don't understand, in view of what has happened, how any man can keep a straight face and make that argument. Nations are like the men who compose them. Given a hostile feeling and weapons and they will use the weapons. It is perfectly clear that if we are to have a lasting and just peace after the great war the insane policy of competitive arming must be abandoned. I believe that must have been the President's thought when he used the phrase "peace without victory" in his speech to the Senate in

January. The President knows, as every thoughtful person must know, that if either side in the European War should win an overwhelming military victory its faith in the efficacy of arms in the settlement of international disputes will be renewed and strengthened, and that it would not agree to the policy of reduced armaments. If neither side should have such a victory, the folly and futility of war will be plain to the dullest mind. Its very horrors and inconclusiveness would illuminate the argument and hasten the substitution of the court and board of arbitration for the sword.

COURTS AND ARBITRATION WILL FOLLOW

I am convinced that if we can persuade, or compel, governments to reduce their military and naval establishments every other step in the plan for a just and lasting peace will follow easily and naturally. Heads of governments who are not inclined to quiet reasoning when they command great fleets and armies would then take a different view. The setting for war is complete when two heads of quarrelsome governments are heavily armed, but if either realizes that while his army is the best of its size in the world it is still not large enough to overrun and destroy a neighbor, he will incline to talk it over and settle differences some other way.

Abolish overgrown armies and navies and there will at once be an opening for the Council of Conciliation, the Court for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes and the Board of Arbitration. If we can take away from the heads of governments, from the heads of all governments, the power to make war, *or to make conditions that compel war*, and take it so far away that they will forget that they ever had any connection with such things, the people will do the rest. The people, I believe, may be relied on not to condemn themselves to destruction. They will not put themselves into the hell of Verdun or Gallipoli.

From this you may surmise that I am pleading for democracy, and so I am, for I believe that democracy spells peace.

If the Republic of Russia really has been set up on a firm foundation, if the people of that country are to have a real voice in disposing of their own lives and fortunes, the "Bear that walks like a man" will cease to be a menace to Europe.

Already the republicans of Russia have spoken a sympathetic word to the Poles in whom a century of oppression has not stifled

the hope of independence. For the first time since the Grand Duchy of Finland fell victim to the rapacity of the Romanoffs, there is a sympathetic feeling in Helsingfors for what is being done in Petrograd.

I do not sympathize with the suggestion that the Russians should not try for a republic, that they are not yet ripe for such complete freedom. It may be that all the people in the world are not yet sufficiently advanced for self-government, but all are advanced beyond the need of despotism, all are entitled to have a try at free representative government. It is better to have democracy with occasional disorder than autocracy with unrelenting oppression.

EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

The wars that are begotten by huge military preparations put all sorts of financial and social burdens on the people. Modern wars, these huge scientific, mechanical wars, mean bankruptcy to nations that engage in them. They postpone indefinitely projects for the social betterment of the people. They mean inferior houses for the family, less vigorous children, thus passing on their miseries to the innocent unborn, inferior schools, undernourishing for women and children and the physically less fit men who have not been sent to the trenches. They mean increasing contributions from the earnings of labor to meet interest charges and to prepare for other wars that ambitious monarchs look forward to. They engender hatred between peoples that holds back civilization and prepares for other calamities, for be it remembered that "Wars still other wars do breed." They break friendly relations between neighbors in a country like ours where the citizens are contributions from all branches of the human family.

If we would not disturb the peace of the world with internal dissension we must be tolerant and patient. Good American citizens who were "Saxon and Norman and Dane," Teuton, Kelt or Frank, each with a lingering interest in, and affection for, the country of his origin live side by side in our republic. Their diverse origin makes it more difficult to keep the peace than among an absolutely homogeneous people. The situation calls for a wide tolerance, for great wisdom and patience.

Suspicion of the loyalty of a citizen just because he was born in Germany, or is the son of a man who was born in Germany, is

unworthy the great republic and grossly unjust in nearly every case. By unjust suspicions and persecution men of spirit who are loyal may be made rebellious in time. All citizens have a right to be judged by their previous conduct and character. Suspicion, sensationalism and intolerance are the worst features of the war psychology and we have it now in an exaggerated form.

In the American Revolution of 1776 there were many earnest supporters of the Colonies who were born in Great Britain. Many sons of Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen whose relatives in the old country wore the uniform of King George followed Washington from the beginning in Massachusetts to the ending at Yorktown. We have monuments to the memory of von Steuben, Kosciusko and Lafayette all in one small square in Washington. I do not doubt for a moment that in the war with Germany many German-born men and their sons will loyally and effectively support the American republic and they ought not to be insulted by unjust suspicion or worried by the unthinking who show their patriotism in violence. Let us try to protect them from a suspicion that is so frequently insulting, and from the nagging and annoyance that espionage bills and such un-American legislation will make possible.

We must live with these people after the war and it will contribute to the cause of internal and external peace if we will remember their embarrassing situation and treat them as Americans should be treated.

May I, in closing, quote two or three sentences from the great speech made in London recently by the great, little Welshman, now the real head of the British government? Take these words of David Lloyd George home with you:

I am the last man in the world to say that the succor which is given from America is not in itself something to rejoice at greatly. But I also say that I can see more in the knowledge that America is going to win a right to sit at a conference table when the terms of peace are discussed. That conference will settle the destiny of nations and the course of human life for God knows how many ages. It would have been a tragedy, a tragedy for mankind, if America had not been heard there and with all her influence and her power.

I can see peace, not a peace to be a beginning of war, not a peace which will be an endless preparation for strife and bloodshed, but a real peace. Europe has always lived under the menace of the sword. When this war began two thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule. Now it is the other way about and democracy means peace.

Many strange things have happened in this war, aye, and stranger things will come and are coming rapidly. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She now is one of the most advanced democracies in the world.

Today we are waging the most devastating war the world has ever seen. Tomorrow, tomorrow, not perhaps distant tomorrows, war may be abolished forever from the category of human crimes.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE AMERICAN POLICY OF ISOLATION IN RELATION TO A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

BY JOHN H. LATANÉ, PH.D., LL.D.,

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During the one hundred years following the treaty of Ghent the United States engaged in two foreign wars: the Mexican War, which lasted from May 13, 1846, to February 2, 1848, and the Spanish War, which lasted from April 21 to August 12, 1898. The combined length of these two wars was a few days over two years. During the same period the entire American continent was singularly free from wars of importance or of long duration, either between American states or between American and European states. No other part of the world can show a record at all comparable to this. If, therefore, we are in search of bases for a just and durable peace, we should examine the public policies of America rather than of Europe.

During this century of comparative peace with other nations the foreign policy of the United States has been guided by two great principles, the Monroe Doctrine and the policy of political isolation or the avoidance of entangling alliances. The Monroe Doctrine is a guarantee of the *status quo*, the only principle on which the peace of the world can securely rest. The policy of isolation means the absence in time of peace of alliances which have been a necessary condition to all great wars. If there had been no European alliance in July, 1914, and if the several countries, free from the obligations which such alliances impose, had been able to choose the course dictated by their highest interests, does any one believe that there would have been a world war? Is it going too far to assert that the